Proof That Police Brutality Is Policy In Daley's Chicago, Pps. 2-3

The Still Living Though Gagged Voice of The Old Tolystoyan Russia

"In these tragic days of your country we writers of Moscow recognize bitterly our own helplessness. . . . We are ashamed. . . . We observed your struggle with envy, delighted to see that in at least one Slavonic country there existed freedom of thought. . . . Forgive us and forgive Russia."—*From a letter by 88 Russian writers to the Czechs protesting "our present Stalinist methods of leadership" in* The Times *(London) Sept. 11.*

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Speech For A New (4th) Party Candidate

Fellow Americans: The No. 1 cliche of the tired Vietnamese debate is that the war can only be won by political means. It is time to apply that wisdom at home. We are at the beginning of two revolutions, one by the blacks, the other by our youth. If they are not to tear our country apart, we must recognize that they are not the result of some esoteric conspiracy but of deep-rooted disaffections the Vietnamese war has exacerbated. The first step in reducing the tension and dealing with those causes is to end not just the bombing of North Vietnam, but the war itself, and not just the Vietnam war, but the cancerous growth of a military machine so huge that it *must* create new Vietnams.

The War May Still Be On In 1972

A new party can make little headway this year, but now is the time to begin to build it. To remake American society peacefully is not the work of one campaign. It is foolish to assume, first of all, that the forces which turned the two-party system into a one-party rubber stamp for the war will somehow disappear after the election, leaving the way clear for peace. Johnson gave up the Presidency but not the war. Under Nixon *or* Humphrey, it may still be going on in 1972. Or conditions in one of the many Latin American countries in which our Special Forces operate may erupt and bring full-scale U.S. military involvement. Everybody parrots the line that the U.S. cannot be the policeman of the world but both parties are committed to go on policing just about all of it outside the Soviet bloc. A new party is needed to clarify the distinction between unilateral interventionism and internationalism.

But the more urgent issues are at home. The lesson of Chicago is the spillover into domestic affairs of the errors our military-intelligence machine committed in Vietnam, where its sheer size and elephantine clumsiness escalated the rebellion. The main enemy to the maintenance of law and order at home may well be termed Daleyism. Daleyism is to meet protest with such brute force as to transform a handful of protestors into an army of the disaffected. Without Daleyism, a tiny corps of revolutionaries could not succeed in their purpose, which is to create an atmosphere of civil war, to destroy the moderates as a political force and to polarize the country for "confrontation." It was Daley who managed to turn a disappointingly small turnout of protest at the Convention into a major triumph of dissent.

Telling It As It Wasn't?

"I think it's unfortunate that people were led to believe that the police waded in without provocation. To the contrary, I saw a policeman get stabbed in the face with a broken beer bottle, cutting his eye and his face for no reason at all."

—Humphrey interview, WCCO Minneapolis Aug. 31.

If a policeman was stabbed in the face with a beer bottle, cutting his eye, it seems strange that no such vicious attack was mentioned either in Mayor Daley's official report (text in *Chicago Daily News*, Sept. 9) or in the *Chicago Tribune's* special 8-page supplement of the same date, though both listed all policemen injured and their injuries.

The vital element omitted from Daley's White Paper and from his TV "rebuttal" is that all this was predicted and predictable. On August 1 a Commission of respected Chicago citizens turned in a report on the police brutality which marked the April 27 peace march in Chicago and warned that this could be a preview of the Convention.* On August 7 two dozen Chicago organizations including the Cook County Bar Association sent Mayor Daley a memorandum on wiser methods for handling demonstrations. It was never even acknowledged. "During the past two years," the memorandum warned, "Chicago has been the scene of major civil disorders. On each occasion the administration of justice has failed to live up to basic and historically accepted standards of law, fair play and decency." Daley's "shoot to kill" order of April 15 in ghetto disorders signalled that cast of mind which made him an ideal bull for the matadors of protest. They could be sure of blind self-defeating fury. This is Daleyism.

A new party is needed as a kind of mental health measure for the nation's politics. We are threatened with a renewal of the paranoia which marked the McCarthy period. The paranoid sees plots where the physician sees an inability to adjust. Paranoia is also the professional disease of police agents the world over. A society which relies upon them for political guidance is in for trouble. Stalin's Russia was a monument . paranoid politics. We can see police paranoia

(Continued on Page Four)

***See Pages 2 and 3.**

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Proof That Police Brutality During The Democratic Convention . . .

The best evidence that the police brutalities which marked the Democratic National Convention were not the result of provocation but of deliberate policy lies in a little noted report on "Dissent and Disorder" made public on Aug. 1 by nine distinguished Chicago citizens. They investigated the similar disorders which marked the April 27 peace parade in Chicago, when 20 persons were injured and 80 arrested. The report expressed the fear felt in Chicago that this was "a dress rehearsal" for the Convention. Here are their conclusions slightly abridged:*

The organizers of the April 27 peace march demonstrated to the Commission's satisfaction that their sole wish was to conduct a peaceful march without incident. Their willingness to compromise their plans reflected a desire to avoid conflict or confrontation with the City. Other cities managed similar situations without incident. New York City had an April 27 Loyalty Day Parade and peace demonstration. Both were granted permits; neither was marred by serious incident. In addition, Chicago police officers showed on May 4 that they, too, were capable of disciplined profesional action. This is remarkable since the May 4 parade was specifically a protest against the police and their actions the previous Saturday.

A Technique for Repression

But City officials evidenced no such attitude toward the April 27 Parade. There was a concerted effort by City agencies and the Park District to prevent the Parade or to destroy its effectiveness. Parade organizers were presented with a series of obstacles designed to discourage them. Parade organizers suggested a considerable latitude of routes and times. No march of any magnitude can be conducted without difficulties and inconvenience, but the peace march is distinguished from others by the City's unwillingness to deal with such problems. The refusal of public officials to cooperate in overcoming these barriers amounts to repression.

The use of public property for political protest is a right, not a privilege. We are distressed that permit procedures—which are legitimate only when used to regulate the use of public property for reasons of traffic and safety—have become perverted in Chicago. The City administration must realize that it cannot prevent a demonstration because officials disagree with the event's ideology. Nor can the City prevent a political assembly merely because difficult traffic problems are presented.

Many difficulties stemmed from the excessive concentration and visible show of police force. With no basis for anticipation of trouble, the Police Department assigned 400 officers to the Civic Center Plaza alone. Policemen seemed to get in each other's way and even worked at cross purposes. And this display of police force presented an implicit threat to the marchers from the very outset.

Putting the causes of the conflict aside, the number of arrests (80) in a crowd of 6,500 was not in itself surprising. Rather, we were impressed by the excess of force and brutality used in making particular arrests. There was no resistance by those arrested to justify the force and violence of the arrests. Policemen also employed force and violence as a method of controlling pedestrian traffic. Those in police custody were denied many of the constitutional rights

***The April 27 Investigating Commission was chaired by Dr. Edward J. Sparling, president emeritus of Roosevelt University, and included Warren Bacon, Vice President of Inland Steel and a member of the Chicago Board of Education; Dr. Edgar H. Chandler, Exec. Dir. Chicago Church Federation; Earl B. Dickerson, Pres. Supreme Life Insurance Company; Monsignor John J. Egan; Dr. Joseph P. Evans, Prof. of Neurological Surgery, Univ. of Chicago; Prof. Harry Kalven, Jr., Univ. of Chicago Law School; Rev. E. Spencer Parsons, Dean, Rockefeller Memorial Chapel, and Rabbi E. E. Siskin, Pres., Chicago Board of Rabbis and North Shore Congregation Israel. Copies of the full report may be obtained for $1.25 each from the Roger Baldwin Foundation of ACLU, 6 S. Clark St. Chicago, Ill. 60603.**

Prophetic

"Mayor Daley's 'shoot to kill' order of April 15, regardless of its technical legality, could not help but encourage an 'anything goes' attitude on the police force. The Mayor's repeated insistence that 'there will be no trouble in Chicago this August' cannot help but communicate to the police that all dissent is to be intimidated and repressed; instead of preparing police to deal in a humane and constitutional manner with the trouble which may very possibly erupt around the Democratic Convention."

—Dissent and Disorder (in Chicago), August 1.

The Same Kind of Ineptitude and Brutality Later In Evidence During the Convention

At times police worked at cross purposes. Along Washington St., police officers on the inside of the sidewalk were attempting to carry out orders to disperse. Meanwhile police along the outside were still implementing the rigid view that all marchers were pedestrians, to be prohibited from marching into the street. Consequently, marchers on the inside of the sidewalk were being instructed to disperse, yet were unable to move to obey the order. The police interpreted this inability as resistance to a lawful police command, and attempted to beat people into submission.

The attempt by police to disperse the crowd, and the inability (or, at times, unwillingness) of the crowd to comply signalled the beginning of unprovoked police attacks on demonstrators.

Unruliness developed in the crowd as well. After the police attacks began, a number of individuals threw their picket sticks at policemen. Commander Riordan was hit in the neck and required medical treatment. But this did not justify the continued police actions, far in excess of the marchers' unruliness.

Other incidents corroborated by multiple witnesses:

Police officers (sometimes in formation) chased fleeing marchers through the Loop. If marchers could not outrun the police, they were subject to beatings by police clubs on their backs and heads.

Parade medical aides, identifiable by their white coats, were chased by police.

Other demonstrators were pulled from restaurants where they had sought refuge and beaten by policemen.

In few cases did marchers resist arrest, yet many were beaten while offering no resistance. In at least two cases, girls were dragged to police wagons, one by her heels, another on her buttocks.

—From the chapter on Police Brutality in the Citizens Commission Report on Dissent and Disorder

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. . . Was The Result Not Of Provocation But Of Daley's Policy Toward Dissent

of due process. Most were neither told of the right to contact a lawyer nor allowed to do so upon request.

Police judgments of the danger presented by a political group can be unfairly influenced by their hostility to the group's beliefs and goals. It is our inevitable conclusion that emotional bias must have led to the brutality which characterized the Parade's dispersal. The unreasonable limitations City officials required police to enforce against the Parade were also an open invitation to conflict. At the very least, the need to enforce these restrictions aggravated police biases. *The fact that newspapermen, press photographers and people not even participating in the Parade were beaten indicates the indiscriminate nature of force applied. Such actions are clearly not in the interests of the police by any standards; apparently the police lost control of themselves.*

No Police Disciplined

We again emphasize our deep concern as to what will happen if police confront crowd situations where control is really difficult. We face the future with great fears unless there is immediate realization of the need for better training of policemen. The police responsibility to remain neutral regardless of private political attitudes toward those it is their duty to protect, must be more strongly emphasized. Disurbing evidence of the lack of such training was the fact that Superintendent Conlisk and Deputy Superintendent Rochford were present at the Civic Center Plaza on April 27. They must have had a clear view of many unjustifiable excesses of police action. We are aware of no disciplinary action within the Police Department resulting from this affair. We believe that this implicit tolerance of repression on the part of high officials indicates a failure on the part of the City administration to protect First Amendment rights or perhaps to understand them. These attitudes are inevitably reflected in police behavior. *The effect of the "shoot to kill" order cannot be minimized.*

We also note the almost complete lack of press coverage of the rally and its aftermath. Although we are aware that reporting of weekend events is limited, this does not account for the absence of fair and reasonable coverage of an event which stimulated so much concern among a large number of citizens. This failure of the press to fulfill its obligation to keep the public accurately informed raises disturbing questions about the pressures faced by the media. *This failure is one of the most disturbing features of the entire affair.*

The Use Of Mace As A Punitive Weapon

"The Commission has considerable evidence that Mace was used several times aganist non-resisting demonstrators. Witnesses confirm that beaten demonstrators were Maced while in full control of police officers on the Plaza . . . Many arrested persons stated independently that Mace was sprayed into the squadrol where they were held pending removal to Police Headquarters. Mace was designed as a weapon to facilitate arrest where oral arrest instructions are unsuccessful. The use of Mace as a punitive weapon following arrest, as happened several times on April 27, is reprehensible."

—Dissent and Disorder (in Chicago), August 1.

Our witnesses revealed that the peace movement has come to believe that the First Amendment does not exist for them in Chicago. This conclusion seemed to be based on an alleged history of discriminatory and repressive treatment by City agencies toward the peace movement. With respect to April 27, the peace movement's conclusions were reinforced by the Park District, the Department of Streets and the Civic Center management, all of which attempted to discourage the Parade; by the prominence of "Red Squad" photographers, whose activities function to intimidate participation in dissenting activities; and by the ostentatious brutality of the police.

This disregard for human and civil rights is not new to Chicago. Chicago officials have, in the past, allowed (if not encouraged) the police to deal harshly with minorities they think will not be protected by public opinion. We make this observation with apologies to the members of such groups, realizing as we do that an investigation such as this was called forth only after an act of repression was directed at a parade which included "more influential" members of the community. [Italics added.]

An Appeal From Leading Chicagoans To Humphrey Which Fell on Deaf Ears

"Chicago has been disgraced by the thug-like behavior of our police and security forces in attacking young people, newsmen and even delegates in the interest of a false and un-American concept of law and order. Security and law enforcement is indeed important in this tragic year of the assassin, but the job of security forces is to serve the democratic process, not to smother it.

"There has been provocation of police by protesters and some of them obviously do not share our commitment to nonviolent methods of social change. Still, there is no excuse for policemen yelling 'kill, kill'; no excuse for viciousness and excessive force against unresisting arrestees. When these things happen, the police cease being a professional police force and become a band of vigilantes. Moreover, police brutality only plays into the hands of those who have lost all faith in our institutions and who are seeking conflict rather than constructive change.

"These incidents also underline the validity of many of the complaints repeated year after year by the civil rights forces of our city that police brutality is not just an occasional thing, not just an aberration by misguided individuals, but a much too common and widespread practice in the ghetto. These incidents have given the media and the white community a glimpse of what we have been talking about. It is not enough to protect the rights of newsmen who are backed by some of the most powerful institutions in our society. The real test is what happens to the weak and defenceless, to the ordinary citizen, to the poor and the black.

"We call upon Vice President Humphrey to disassociate himself publicly from this kind of 'law and order' and this way of conducting his party's business."

—From a statement issued Aug. 29 on the convention disorders by Chicago representatives of 16 organizations including the Civil Liberties Union, Friends Service Committee, American Jewish Congress, NAACP, Urban League, Catholic Interracial Council and B'nai B'rith.

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The Dehumanization Of Politics And The World-Wide Revolt Of Youth

(Continued from Page One)

in the mishmash of reality and fable in the Daley White Paper. We can see the political illiteracy that is the hallmark of the rather low IQs attracted to this kind of work in the passage which says of David Dellinger, a product of the pacifist movement, "He is alleged to have admitted being a Communist!"

Agnew's 62 Reds—Like Joe McCarthy's 81

The Communists may soon again serve the modern equivalent of the witch mania (as the "counter-revolutionary" or "Trotzkyite" does in the Soviet bloc). The House Un-American Activities Committee has just climbed out of the woodwork to announce that it will investigate. Spiro Agnew, the Republican candidate for Vice President, (to the dismay even of Dirksen and Gerald Ford) declared Humphrey "soft on Communism" and told an audience at Annapolis * that he will "soon" have a list of 62 leading dissenters "with Communist leanings"—just like that list of 81 Reds in the State Department Joe McCarthy claimed to have 18 years ago. The old movie is being replayed.

We need a new party to marshal the forces of sanity. We need a new party to combat Daleyism. We need a new party to make the public realize that the issue is not law and order but the relation between "the law" and *disorder*. The greatest single cause of disorder in the ghetto lies in those policemen who have identified "the law" with racial humiliation and harassment. This was the profound truth lit up by that wonderful Freudian slip at Daley's press conference Sept. 9 when he said, "the police isn't there to create disorder; the policeman is there to *preserve* disorder." (*Washington Post*, Sept. 10).

If war is too important to be left to the Generals, politics is too important to be left to the police. As in Vietnam, repression will intensify rebellion. Yet a whole industry is being built up for "riot control". The military-industrial complex has a little brother in a police-industrial complex. Little CIAs are springing up in every municipal police force, with all that notorious capacity for misjudgment that has marked the operations of Big Brother. As in Vietnam, we are trying to deal with rebellion by dehumanizing it. We refuse to see that the disaffection reflects frustrated human aspiration which could provide the energy for social and human betterment. To end the alienation would be to mobilize some of our best human resources, white and black. But we are trying to deal with revolt as a technological problem. The line of least resistance—and most private profit—is toward the development of new means for repression. That way lies 1984.

Perhaps the most important function of a new party, bigger even than ending the war in Vietnam or finally giving the black full emancipation in our society, is to make politics human again. It is the feeling that bureaucracy everywhere, whether under Communism or capitalism, is snuffing out the human that explains the world-wide revolt of youth. Only a new party devoted to the human can turn that revolt away from nihilism and into constructive channels. We want to rebuild America in line with its own best traditions, not to destroy it, or to let it destroy itself.

*Baltimore Sun, Sept. 12.

One Rioter Daley Forgot To Mention

"That night [Monday] Pierson, too, threw rocks and bottles and hurled insults at police . . . [Tuesday night] Pierson threw more bottles . . . On Wednesday Pierson was in a group which lowered an American flag in Grant Park and raising [sic] of a red flag. This touched off rioting as police moved in . . ."
—Chicago Tribune, *Aug. 31, describing the activities of undercover cop Robert L. Pierson, who infiltrated the Yippies and became Jerry Rubin's bodyguard.*

"§231. Civil Disorders . . . (3) Whoever commits or attempts to commit any act to obstruct, impede, or interfere with any . . . law enforcement officer lawfully engaged in the lawful performance of his official duties incident to and during the commission of a civil disorder . . . Shall be fined not more than $10,000 or imprisoned not more than 5 years or both."
—*From Chapter 12 of the 1968 Civil Rights Act.*

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